591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
[8] reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[509] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamãindeti (c) oãindesu, nikpietosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[10] were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
19 between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

855 863 8. nérisekihĩndage numĩ sekalajene élamnihĩs(bl)
The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 856 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. nĩtte ẑédeẑédednege tõodayige kã kã kã nudérige (bl)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 602 609 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).

[597] [601] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tauẽttu (a1), tauẽtte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (a?kiraru, a?kineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 157 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikãtu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

857 182 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn, for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. ũftnaɨɾi ũfraɨre tiɬahete ũfraɨena noɾẽtenɨi etiɬtere (b1).
The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoõtakɨi nikɨitũteraɨi etɬere aituɾuɨi natadahaki (b1)
Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857 864 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: ɨɾinõ taminɨsere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 609 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable. Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tagẽtte ʔiina jaʔirina unjena (b1)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

hersk*ɨoɨi ũɾena (b1)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. ulinyenághee n'ungeguedne (b1)

Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[55] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[229] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehéna ulítte ulíkwage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ulínuette ulíkwage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation,
521 they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[i.e. from the children.--Analyst]

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 526 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [284] al whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

648 609 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakohatige, b1). A long conversation is entered upon (dẽnihotige, b1) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct the word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give here the Indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the construction and specific tone:

[537] 36. One group begins: ɲiaroẽndigẽ ninõkuẽ. --"We are very irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: iã oraɲẽ toɲadeẽ nuhaigiẑn nukmaetiẽ nukenaiɲi nukenitenohiñ moladeringuĩn nagataɲiɲot endigẽ. --"We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand one another." (b1)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the course of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group:

648 37. tamaĩn ãtne munãitiere munãitienãitiore njanĩ (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhé tõhé kãhé kãhé muniniti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take--commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

181 Caduveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The
171 Arawak-speaking Terena and Paressí, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
576 and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
● 609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "razzberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paressí consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

[p.65(A)]

302 Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads,
[431] they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set
ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani
as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in
Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)
The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]